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REMARKS BY THE EDITOR

Frequently within the past two years the Secretary-Treasurer of our Association and the Editor of The Classical Weekly discussed with each other the desirability and feasibility of expanding our publication from eight to sixteen pages. At our Annual Meeting last May the Executive Committee enthusiastically authorized this change. With this Number, therefore, our readers will begin to receive the enlarged publication; as is indicated in the statement in the masthead, the schedule of dates provides for sixteen Numbers in the current Volume. The Editor fervently hopes that further expansion will prove possible in another year. This increase in the total number of pages planned for the present Volume is very substantially better than might have been expected from the modest increase in our subscription rate announced last Spring. We are soliciting the continued support of our old readers and would take this occasion to urge them to aid us in bringing our publication to the attention of other persons who ought to be among our subscribers. It is all too easy to overlook the obvious fact that all publications appealing to teachers must forever add new names to their lists to make up the losses occasioned by death, retirement, and other occurrences. Younger teachers should give serious thought to what constitutes an important professional responsibility. Support of the activities of the several classical associations, attendance at their meetings whenever that is possible, subscription to their periodicals, and active

participation in other phases of the work of these organizations will, in the course of the years, yield rich dividends in the form of the really durable satisfactions. Even on the purely financial basis the small outlay will be a very handsome investment. Consider: *tua res agitur*; and forget this not. To all our subscribers, old and new, we wish to give the assurance that their subscription dollars are being used with the strictest economy. The secretary of every association and the editor of every periodical are constantly performing many services and effecting savings without which the subscription rates would be very materially higher. These officers expect this situation, and do not in any sense seek to complain; many readers have slight experience with these stiff realities.

It is not necessary to cite here the numerous considerations that have suggested a larger publication. One thing that we sought was enough pages in a single issue to effect a better balance between the various kinds of material that we should like to print. We will now, also, have less occasion to extend relatively short articles over more than one Number. Authors will welcome this. In this new plan our printer has given us his cordial cooperation.

We are thus entering upon a new year of publication in a feeling that the worst of the war-born difficulties have been surmounted; that our plans for the future have taken cognizance of the features essential for solid improvement and greater usefulness; and that, with the loyal support of our constituency, this program will be successfully enacted.

FALL MEETING

The regular Fall Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States will be held in conjunction with the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools at the Chalfonte-Haddon Hotel in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on Friday and Saturday, November 28 and 29. The general theme for the sessions of the Convention is: Education for Human Relations. The program session of the C. A. A. S. will be held on Saturday, November 29, from 10:30 to 12:30. Our Executive Committee will assemble at 1:00 P.M. for a luncheon and business session.

LINKING THE OLD AND THE
NEW IN ITALY

(Continued from Vol. 40, p. 96)

Let us go back and forth now between the Rome of some two thousand years ago and the Rome that so many of our readers have enjoyed in recent years. One of the most interesting things that I did in the days when I first studied the city was to walk entirely around the walls and ancient limits to secure a better realization of its size than can come from merely reading the statistics and other information in works on topography. Such a circumambulation may be associated with another instructive survey. I made a point of walking the entire length of every street and alley in the heart of Rome that I could, marking them on my maps in Baedeker until there was no quarter within the city gates that I didn't know much better, I am sure, than any tourist or than many of my Classical friends, who no doubt deemed me *cerritulus*, if nothing worse. Yet I still maintain after several score years of experience that there is no more rewarding way of seeing Rome, the surrounding Campagna, or any sacred territory of Italy than by riding on shank's mare. Weariness may make you leg-conscious, but, as a scholar, you become conscious of much that you would otherwise miss entirely.

Any of my readers who has lived in Rome and been baffled by the house-numbering when in

search of a friend may wonder whether the uncertainty may not have Classical precedents. If Cicero wished to direct a stranger to some address at the capital, it seems likely, so far as evidence on the matter is available, that he might meet at times with considerable difficulty; for there seems to have been no system of numbering the houses, and one had to do the counting from some landmark.²³ So Catullus names as the haunt of his faithless Lesbia a low pot-house at the ninth pillar from the Temple of Castor.²⁴ It once struck me in Pompeii when I was cataloguing all the different crude carvings of the pipe-outlets of the city's street-fountains²⁵ that these ornaments might have served in locating dwellings. So, one would say that so-and-so lived on such-and-such a street in the fifth house from the 'Ox-head Fountain' or 'Silenus Fountain', or opposite the one of which an eagle and a vase constituted the insignia. Several mural shields which have been found at Pompeii seem to have served as markers of wards or sections of the city. So, presumably, one could direct a person from, e.g., the sign that had the goat represented in low relief on it.²⁶ In an almost isolated case at Pompeii we have the name of the inhabitant of a house painted for all to read: *Aemilius Celer hic habitat*. He was, it seems, a sign-painter.²⁷ By the time of St. Augustine, however, it was usual to find on a residence some sort of name plate, a *titulus*.²⁸

In Rome, as I first knew it, hunting a house by street numbers was not infrequently less successful than by landmarks. In old quarters of the town there might be three different series represented by the signs. On the other hand, an advertisement in a newspaper which bade the reader come to Number 12 on a certain street might lead to the discovery that there was no building that bore a 12, but that between Numbers 10 and 14 the advertiser had taken position to make of the searcher his sidewalk-customer for the wares that he had for sale.

Through all the centuries there has been a tendency for different trades and crafts to center their activities in certain quarters and streets.²⁹ For example, in ancient Rome the Argiletum was a place to look for shoemakers and booksellers.

You found your banker and money lender down by the Forum. By a peculiar form of speech, e.g., *inter figulos, inter falcarios, inter lignarios*, certain localities derived their names from the occupations of the various people who carried on business in them, or a street was specified by an adjective, e.g., *vicus bubularius, vicus herbarius, vicus olivarius*. These names afforded the shopper a clue as to where he might purchase, respectively, pottery, sickles, lumber, cows, herbs, and olives. The person in need of sandals once went to the *Vicus Sandaliarius*. In the days of Galen this street had become the headquarters of the book trade. The practice of concentration explains the names in modern Rome of the *Via dei Canestrari*, where one goes to buy a basket, or did go when I lived not far away, of the *Via dei Capellari*, street of the manufacturers of hats, and, in Genoa of the *Via de'Orefici*, the street of the goldsmith or jewellers. Then, if we go far away to the south, to Palermo, the *Via dei Caldari* shows us coppersmiths at work and the *Via dell'Argenteria* the artificers in silver. Some of the names may well puzzle a stranger from an alien land. It is perhaps only at the Christmas season that he becomes aware of the fact that it is on the *Via de'Bambinai* that they model figures of the Christ-child in wax to sell to the faithful.³⁰

Those of us who live in a northern clime and whose rearing, education, business, and pleasures are largely located within the four walls of this or that building are struck by an impression which we get from both Roman archaeology and from Latin literature that Romans might be seen doing almost anything in the open air at one time or another of the day or night. The Classical student is therefore prepared to find, and he actually does find, a similar situation among their descendants in the lower walks of Italian life today. This is fortunate for the investigator of manners and customs, the retina of whose eye must of necessity more often register snapshots than time exposures. The Italian masses do not conceal much from the public view. With all their shy reserve about their inner life, the people are more than self-divulging in the externals of their existence. Even as the biography

of the old bard Lucilius was disclosed in his writings 'as though depicted on a votive tablet', so you may find much of Italian life *votiva veluti descripta tabella*, provided you visit every nook and corner of the peninsula and Sicily, as I almost venture to say that I have done since the closing years of the last century. What you do not see in Chiavari or Chioggia in the north, you may chance upon in Bari or Trapani at the other end of the former kingdom of Italy. Ancona or Rimini may show you what you missed in Livorno or Ravello. The thing to do is to travel with a conscious purpose and with your eyes wide open—and then, oh what fun!

In Italy many among the lowly are largely bred, if they were not actually born, under the roof of heaven, and the tourist who is squeamish about witnessing the performance of most of the functions of life in the open had better keep out of the slums of cities and of the streets and areas of primitive villages of remote sections. I have travelled with prim and finical people born decorously amid the decencies of the 'Hub of the Universe' who with perhaps a wholesome frequency felt that they were far out on the rim of the wheel. Torre del Greco is a long ways from Boston.

Particularly during the cold, damp days of winter the lack of artificial heat in an abode of poverty makes work, rest, or diversion in the outside sunshine preferable. The street is the poor man's drawing room, the poor woman's boudoir, and the nursery and playroom of all their offspring. In the comfortable south, sleeping and dressing in the street are no rare sight. I have seen men taking their siesta at noon on a hard pavement and, between midnight and dawn, members of both sexes sleeping in the open air in the thoroughfares of a great city. Such outdoor dormitories foster no prudery.

Of course, you must not expect to see a modern Italian clad in a Roman toga, but in Sicily men still cloak themselves with shawls as a protection against the weather. In Calatafimi and the thinly inhabited country between it and ancient Segesta I have been reminded of how the ancients must have often used the blanket types of outer garments when I have seen my peasant

companion draw his heavy covering over his head to meet a sudden downpour of rain. A shawl is even more readily removable than the loosest jacket or cloak, and in one of those unpredictable quarrels which characterize the social life of certain grades of Sicilian society—I have been in them and know well their fulminating character—it may be quickly wrapped around the left forearm to serve as a shield in a thrusting of stilettos. So in a sudden sword fight of two millennia ago, the fighters swathed their *bracchium* with their *pallium* or with whatever other outer garment they had the good luck to be wearing, extemporizing a defence when every second counted as a minute.³¹

In waging war against their enemies the Romans did not show themselves such hidebound slaves to convention that they would not accommodate themselves to the requirements of a different climate. While, in general, they may have shared the Greek feeling that trousers were rather a symbol of barbarian effeminaey, as worn, for example, by such Oriental peoples as the Persians—'bags of varied colors,' τοὺς θυλάκους τοὺς ποικίλους. Euripides called them, anticipating the term of Oxford 'bags'—they did not hesitate to accept that sort of covering for their legs when they were fighting northern peoples, and they chased the Gauls in their Gallic breeches, wearing breeches, *bracae*, of their own. The etymologist recognizes, of course, that the Latin term as well as the words which the Scotch and English respectively use, 'breeks' and 'breeches', go back to something in the Gallic tongue. But little could the virile legionaries campaigning under Julius Caesar have imagined that, within three hundred years, even their rulers would be wearing, as a peaceful domestic garb on the Palatine Hill, scarlet trousers and white trousers which any Persian prince might covet, but which the Curii and Camilli would have viewed with ineffable disgust.³² As a rule, the Romans had left to the use of women all colors except the purple which they needed for what we should call uniforms and ceremonial garb. Today the gay trousers of Alexander Severus would be no more of a sensation in a fashionable Italian vacation resort than they would at the Bath

Club or Surf Club of Miami Beach.

Among the countless small bronzes which have reached our modern museums I happen to have seen only one which represents a man in trousers that reach only to the knee, in other words, in what we call 'short trousers.' It is a small figurine in the Louvre, and the way in which he is wearing his tunic on the outside of them reminds one of a common and often amusing sight in the fields and even in the streets of modern Italy, a manual laborer working with his shirt pulled out of his trousers, the sort of shirt that should never have its tails exposed.³³ This signifies, I suppose, some sort of atavistic revolt against the modern tyranny of tight clothing.

A mere man might come to his remarks upon the dress of Roman women with considerable timidity if anciently it had offered anything like the complications which can characterize feminine clothing of our modern age. We plunge into the subject boldly with just a few items in our comparative study. It is, I suppose, current doctrine that while breast-bands, bosom-supports, and similar articles which anticipate in a way the modern brassiere or "bra", were usual enough among the women of antiquity and there was even some bandaging with *fasciae* to shape the form (a practice which doctors might disapprove³⁴), neither Greeks nor Romans ever resorted to anything like the corset of some decades ago, the constrictor of the osseous type which would drastically re-shape a female form to accord with the ever-shifting whims of fashion. I have found but one passage³⁵ in Classical literature that might shake one's faith in this, the orthodox belief, and that one concerns the Emperor Antoninus Pius, a well-fleshed person such as a monarch can so readily become. As a matter of fact, it seems to have been an over-indulgence in Alpine cheese that brought on his last illness:³⁶ he was a man who could love his food too fondly. He had always been handsome.³⁷ He was conspicuously tall, and so when old age came on and he had somewhat fallen together, as old men do, he sought to win back his early carriage by supporting his chest all around with stays of linden wood, held by bands. This seems rather heroic. The favor of no woman could

have been adequate recompense for the discomfort of such splints. Since, however, the imperial court set the styles and the Italian woman has always had a tendency toward acquiring an unruly plumpness, it is not an unreasonable guess that in the fashionable society of that time ageing belles may have followed the example of the imperial beau and put on some sort of reconstructor. And here, as often, archaeology has something to say, although it is evidence, which, so far as I have discovered, has not yet found a place in the books.

Being much interested in the clothing of the Greeks and Romans, I retain a vivid memory of the occasion, many years ago, when the great collector and archaeologist Castellani showed me—his eyes dancing the while with an Ovidian delight—a unique specimen from his collection, a tiny bronze figurine dating from Classic times which would give a vivid idea of how his own grandmother in Italy or my grandmother in New England used to exert all the power of her two hands in order to close together at the front the corset that gave their unwilling flesh the fashionable contour of their day, and gradually produced a waist that wasps might admire but which the athletic girl of 1946 would deride. It is hardly likely that an ancient artist would have modelled such a genre figure, had there not been many among his contemporaries who were encasing themselves in similar stays. The bronze might seem to a professional sceptic too modern in subject to be genuine, but its style and appearance allowed me no doubt of its authenticity—and Castellani was no ordinary connoisseur. He knew bronzes, and—I suspect—women, too well to be fooled by the false in either.

To an American visiting Rome for the first time the sight of the high stomacher or bodice, *busto*,—rigid as a breastplate—which constitutes part of the outer garb of some of the peasant women who come to the city, seems comical enough; for it looks like a misplaced corset, suggesting the thought that its wearer had put on her bulwark of virtue in a confused state of mind. In the case of the bodices in vogue in the Latian region, the upper part projects sufficiently in front to serve as a pouch or small

pocket beneath the chin, well adapted to receive heterogeneous articles such as her ancestress of twenty centuries ago would have put in the folds of her outer garment. Roman men and women alike were living in a pocketless age. I know of an ancient tomb relief that pictures a young girl who is wearing a bodice which closely resembles that of the peasantry around Rome.³⁸

In this selective discussion of the dress of women we may note that in Roman days they put on over their inner tunic an outer one, the *stola*, and then, as a rule, wore over that, when out-of-doors, a rectangular shawl, the *palla*, white, black, or, if they could afford it, bright colors. In order to satisfy the requirements of fashionable society, this *palla* had to be draped for the wearer by her tirewoman with somewhat the same care and nicety that were expended on its masculine counterpart, the *toga*.³⁹ The *stola* is only linguistically, that is to say, in name alone, the ultimate forbear of the ecclesiastical *stole*.⁴⁰ It was the distinctive token of her position as a Roman citizen. It safeguarded her in public pretty much as the uniform of a Salvation Army lass does for its wearer in Anglo-Saxon lands or that of a nun in Italy. In the case of matrons the *stola* had a band, *instita*, stitched on at the bottom. This just cleared the feet as they walked. Some similar differentiations, visible at a distance, would have their uses in the feminine garb of married women today; for the eyes of one rather ubiquitous type of Italian takes to ogling with a facility which often requires a drastic rebuff. It might seem better that a dress border should give the flirt a warning rather than the owner of a male foot. As a matter of sober fact, various articles of clothing, the manner of wearing them and the fashion of dressing the hair, will still inform you, in some parts of Italy, whether a woman is single, married, or engaged to be married.⁴¹

There is much more to be said about analogies and parallels between the garb of antiquity and that of today which will catch the eye of a Classicist who travels with an alert mind through one region or another of Italy and its islands, but it is time to turn now to other offerings of the great outdoors.

Not only the shirt-sleeve crowd of Roman society, the *tunicatus popellus* of Horace, but well-to-do gentlemen of his period transacted much of their business, in so far as it required conference or other oral intercourse, in the open air. Among ordinary people in Italy shopping is, and it probably always has been, something more than mere business. A purchase is a social exchange as well as a financial transaction. The American type of department store in which sales are likely to be quite impersonal and executed almost mechanically, has been slow to win popular favor among the Italian masses, while such inventions as self-service groceries and the automat impair the pleasures of both buying and, we might add, eating the food.

In any humble quarter of a town where street booths, push carts or local fairs assemble prospective buyers, you will have a free dramatic show, a play that has had a longer run than any ever staged in an Italian theatre, in which you may see actors and actresses display a histrionic ability which is, I think, a birthright of the people. Haggling over prices and striking a bargain have been Italian customs ever since Mercury first assumed the divine patronage of traders. Much swapping of goods without use of money has always encouraged this sort of business. The principle of fixed prices, *prezzi fissi*, is not yet observed everywhere in Italy. Setting a price, marking it on a tag, and maintaining it against any possible assaults from the craft and persistency of a shopper would deprive people to whom time is of small consequence of a much valued social diversion and of no little stimulating excitement. It would also eliminate that element of chance which makes such a strong appeal to their nature. To be a successful buyer one has to learn a special lingo of petty trade, the significance of gestures, the peculiar procedures of the local mart. In any transactions indifference should be feigned, a poker face assumed. Both the disparagement of the wares by the buyer and the praise of them by the seller require adjectives in the superlative degree. It is an intellectual game at which you must no more lose your temper than at chess, else you will be quickly checkmated. Latin literature

takes note of this as early as Lucilius.⁴²

In our time any open-air market of a large Italian city will bring back to the imagination of the Classicist much of the life of the great fora of the empire. The so-called Rag Fair in Rome, where great 'finds' are supposed to lurk among the *scruta*, requires all the talent for chaffering which Roman traders had to use when they went on their yearly pilgrimage for gain to the Etruscan assembly at the temple of Voltumna or did business at the greatest of all fairs, that at Soracte in the grove of Feronia, who should have been a goddess of competitive cupidity.⁴³

In the Book of Proverbs we read: 'It is naught, it is naught saith the buyer; but when he hath gone his way, then he boasteth.'⁴⁴ But before boasting, the untutored foreigner who has been at an Italian fair had better make sure that his bargains really were good ones. Time may indicate that his genuine coral ornament never saw the sea, that it is unwise to bring his 'real tortoise-shell' comb near a flame, and that the beautiful pearls were due to the labors of many busy bees. From the Natural History of Pliny the Elder, in particular, we learn how hazardous the purchase of such articles of luxury used to be even for fairly careful connoisseurs. The finds of archaeology tell the same story. The length of a normal Roman foot rule ought to be the equivalent of 296 millimeters, but two that have come down to us measure respectively 292 and 294 millimeters, revealing a deficit which might mean much to the profits of a dealer, let us say, in purple cloth in the course of a year of free enterprise.

But in Italy what the foreigner, buying from petty salespeople, is prone to characterize as cheaterly is not always and altogether truly that. Rather simple arithmetic bothers many of the humbler merchants, so that they have to resort, if they would obtain some approximation to speed, to the use of their fingers or to a counting-table. With the same handicap, the ancient petty *mercator* or *caupo*, counted on his fingers or resorted to his *abacus* to do his adding. Several of the latter have come down to us. They are constructed almost precisely like a modern

Italian *abbaco*.⁴⁵

A common concomitant of any lively commercial transaction is an ample amount of gesticulation. Indeed, among the more meridional inhabitants of Italy one may readily misinterpret any warm discussion as the beginning of a fight. Moreover, some of them give an observer the impression that life is for the Italians just one long *conversazione*, only interrupted by the rare moments among such a gregarious people when there may be nobody within hearing distance with whom to converse. It should be no surprise to a student of their superstitions to learn that a sudden silence at a dinner party is deemed malominous.⁴⁶ We have come to a topic that is so rarely treated and is so important to a comparative study of the ancient and modern inhabitants of Italy that I shall deal with it at some length.

One does not travel far among the Italians before he realizes that there are not only numerous dialects and sub-dialects of their language, which can be sufficiently different from one another to confound even the native as he moves from place to place, but that the people really possess two languages, one of the tongue, the other equally effective for many purposes and more agreeable to the ear, if its auditory nerve happens to be hypersensitive to the impacts of southern loquacity, the silent communication of facial expression and of gesture.⁴⁷ Cicero characterized the latter as a sort of mute speech. In fact, by an expert Italian conversation can be carried on with the help of almost every part of man's anatomy that is mobile, hands, arms and shoulders, the head, and such features of the face as can be made expressive. While a few men have movable ears, I have never happened to see an Italian using them, although those ubiquitous and frequently recalcitrant animals, the mule and donkey, might well have suggested imitation to peasants who are so much with them. But the Romans of old did not wholly ignore the ear. They deemed it the seat of memory. Touching a person's lobe meant that you expected him to remember something.⁴⁸

If the hand alone cannot gesture adequately, it can be implemented with a fan or a handker-

chief, both of which were available also for that purpose in ancient Rome. There is no feeling that may not receive from an Italian of vivacious temperament its proper expression by look and gesture: regret, scorn, refusal, consent, patience, compassion, disapproval, fear, hunger, thirst. The Neapolitan, if we may pick out for illustration a great master of gesticulation, does not have to mention by name anybody of whom he is going to speak: he nicknames him, as it were, by a grimace which reproduces some oddity of his face, or, by some apt gesture or other movement he imitates the person's use of hand or head, or he mimics his strut, his slouch, or his mincing gait. He does not hesitate to libel a victim by a gross exaggeration: for nobody can be sued for one of these gestures of description.

In this land of visible speech, the deaf and dumb have been born to somewhat less unhappiness perhaps than among the more stolid and less expressive races of the north, where there is no such well-developed auxiliary language. It was a clever remark of the lady who described the technique of one of the great Italian preachers: 'He spoke to us with his hands and we heard him with our eyes'. As a matter of fact, the gesticulations of the pulpit orators enable persons on the outskirts of vast audiences to follow fairly well the tenor of a discourse the words of which they cannot always catch. When a southern Italian listens to a lecture or a sermon for the first time in an Anglo-Saxon community, he finds the performance, in its complete lack of pantomime, lifeless to a depressing, not to say, a comical degree: even the famous revivalist Billy Sunday, might have been more to their taste than he was to that of some of us who witnessed his acrobatic evangelism. Only paralysis could wholly silence some whom I have watched, but the passage of a railroad train through a tunnel will sometimes reduce considerably the loquacity of your companions in a third-class compartment. It is too dark for the gestures which make conversation fully pleasurable.

The tendency of members of all the Latin races to make their speech manual as well as oral is recognized sometimes in an amusing way. Thus in the cigar factories of Florida and Cuba, the

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management finds it advisable to provide a continuous entertainment by some reader, lector—the old Latin word—or other performer in order to prevent conversations which would divert the hands of the workers from their tasks.

Only a few years back, use of the telephone in either France or Italy was a maddening experience to anyone who was accustomed to the efficiency of the service in our country. But no matter how perfect it may become in Italy, there will be many natives who can never use it in complete comfort, so long as it prevents them from explaining and emphasizing their thoughts with the full equipment of facial expression and gesture that is normal to them. An announcement in an Italian newspaper that Marconi had at last solved the problem of television appeared in huge headlines, as if no news could be of more importance than that long-distance gesturing would at least be feasible.

(To be continued)

NOTES

²³ We recall how Augustus was born *Ad Capita Bubula* (Suet., *Aug.* 5), Domitian *ad Malum Punicum* (Suet., *Dom.* 1), and Martial dwelt for a time *ad Pirum*.

²⁴ Catullus 37.1-2.

²⁵ Excellent for their appearance is the color illustration in A. Maiuri, *Pompeii*, 17.

²⁶ T. Warscher, *Pompeji*, Abb. 1 and 6.

²⁷ CIL IV, Suppl. 2., 3794; cf. IV, 1435: a graffito: Felix est Ianuarius Fuficius qui hic habitat, which might have helped a searcher to find him. For Aemilius Celer's marker see E. Magaldi, 'Le iscrizioni parietali pompeiane con particolare riguardo al costume,' *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, lettere e belle arti*, XI (1929-1930), parte seconda, 55.

²⁸ Aug., *Com. in Psalm.* 55.1.

²⁹ This always interests the observant traveler: Douglas Sladen, *Sicily, the New Winter Resort, An Encyclopaedia of Sicily*, 281; E. Neville-Rolfe and Holcombe Ingleby, *Naples in 1888*, 32; Mrs. Comyns Carr, *North Italian Folk*, 33-34.

³⁰ James Sully, *Italian Travel Sketches*, 228; Giuseppe Pitre, *Spettacoli e feste popolari siciliane*, 452.

³¹ Catullus 116.7; Petron. 80.2; Sen., *De Const.* 7.4.

³² Cf. Lamprid., *Alex. Sev.* 40.11.

³³ Cf. Lawrence, *Sea and Sardinia*, 128.

³⁴ Galen (Ed. of Kühn) 7.28. We think of the reference to reducing in Terence, *Eunuch.* 313-320. See also in C. Daremberg et E. Saglio, *Diction. des Antiq.*, II, 980, fig. 2879.

³⁵ Capit., *Ant. Pius* 13.1.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, 12.4.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, 2.1; 13.1.

³⁸ Illustrated by A. Rich, *Illustriertes Wörterbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, 102, s.v. 'Capitium'; C. Daremberg et E. Saglio, *op. cit.* (see note 34), s.v. **Capitium**, fig. 1145. Cf. *op. cit.*, II, 980, fig. 2879.

³⁹ See L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, plates XCI and XCIII.

⁴⁰ The ecclesiastical stole is the *gravium*, i.e. 'Neck-cloth'.

⁴¹ Phyllis H. Williams, *op. cit.* (see note 3) 68.

⁴² Lucil. 5.221-222.

⁴³ We know too little about ancient fairs and markets, but I can refer the student to a convenient account in William E. Water's *Town Life in Ancient Italy* (a translation from L. Friedländer, *Städtewesen in Italien*), 55-56.

⁴⁴ *Prov.* 20.14.

⁴⁵ Pictured and described: Theodor Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, translation by W. C. F. Anderson of *Kultur Historischer Bilderatlas*² 116, pl. IX, 9.

⁴⁶ Plin., *N. H.* 28.27.

⁴⁷ On Italian gestures: William W. Story, *Roba di Roma*: 217-218. A famous book in Italian is that of Andrea de Jorio, *La mimica degli antichi investigata nel gestire Napoletano*.

⁴⁸ Plin., *N. H.* 11.251; cf. Verg., *Ecl.* 6.3-4; Hor., *Sat.* 1.9.76-77.

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A POINT OF ORDER¹

In a pamphlet printed almost sixty years ago, Professor William Gardner Hale² shared with his readers the one classroom joke which he said he allowed himself each year. At the first meeting of his college freshman class in Latin, he would place on the blackboard the first sentence of Cicero's Third Oration against Catiline³ and ask the students how they would go about the task of getting its meaning. An argument would soon develop: about three-quarters of the students said that they would look first for the subject, and the rest said that they would look first for the predicate. He would then ask the students: 'Which do you suppose the Romans who heard that oration delivered in the Roman Forum first hunted up—the subject or the predicate?' Then he would call attention to the fact that in this particular sentence no subject is expressed, and that the predicate comes at the very end.

He would then go on to show them a more excellent way.

Let me quote one sentence from Hale's pamphlet:

'The boy who, reaching that oration in the course of his preparation for college, cannot understand that particular sentence, and a great many much more difficult sentences in the oration, from reading it straight through once in Latin, nay, from merely hearing his teacher read it straight through once in Latin, has been wrongly trained and is wasting time out of a human life all too short.'

That pamphlet has long been out of print, but, as many of you know, Professor Hale through his long career as a teacher and writer consistently and persistently made a point of order in the reading of Latin. The method which he so valiantly championed has frequently been officially approved, e.g., by the Committee of Ten, in 1894, and by the College Entrance Examination Board, in 1918. However, it would seem that some of Hale's professed followers have not infrequently confused the art of reading Latin with the art of translating Latin. And the mental processes involved in these two arts are very different. Others have confused translation as an end product with translation as a method of comprehending Latin.

Some studies in connection with the Classical Investigation of 1921-1924 showed that a very wide disagreement existed at that time among teachers of Latin and also that there was a wide disagreement between teacher theory and pupil practice. For example, Grise⁴ found that the method most highly favored by about four hundred experienced secondary-school teachers of Latin was 'reading the sentence completely through in Latin, trying to grasp the meaning of each word group in the Latin order, and then translating the sentence as a whole.' He found, however, that the method most practiced by fourth-year Latin pupils in these same schools was 'looking for the subject and translating that; then for the verb and translating that; then fitting in the rest of the sentence.' The method that secured the second place in the student poll was 'getting the meaning of all the words in the sentence and piecing them together so as to make sense.' The teachers' favorite method ran a poor

third with their students, and the students' first choice ranked fifth with their teachers.

Mason D. Gray in *The Teaching of Latin* (1929) strenuously advocated what he called the Latin word-order method and insisted that teachers should cultivate in their students a technique for consciously comprehending Latin in the Latin order. Gray admitted, however, that absolute consistency in the use of the Latin word-order method was not possible. He says (pages 60-61):

'A teacher may be an enthusiastic advocate of the Latin word-order method and yet not commit himself to uncompromising consistency in the use of the method. A pupil will sometimes encounter a Latin passage which is obviously too difficult to be comprehended in the Latin order at his stage of progress . . . No one is troubled by a similar lack of consistency in the reading of English. Everyone has probably been forced, at times, to analyze difficult sentences of English prose or poetry before he has fully understood the thought . . . The adoption of the Latin word-order method does not, therefore, commit teachers to an undeviating use of it under all conditions.'

Dorrance S. White in his *The Teaching of Latin* (1941) reaffirms his loyalty to the grammar-translation method, of which he has long been a champion. He says (page 141):

'A good translation has traditionally been the ultimate proof that a pupil understands a Latin passage . . . It is not easy to break down a tradition established over centuries of teaching. Translation has been both objective desired and method employed.'

Again White says (page 166) in suggesting classroom procedures in the teaching of the *Aeneid*:

'Because of the poetical order of the words, the pupil will naturally hunt for the subject and the predicate and then the modifiers of each, and will confine himself largely to this method throughout the year.'

There you have it. Hale's voice sixty years ago was the voice of the idealist, the perfectionist. Gray's voice was the voice of experience—of the compromiser, if you insist. White's voice is, in my opinion, the voice of the defeatist. There have been other voices, many of them, but I have quoted these three as typical.

I stand with Hale in the belief that our students can and should be trained to comprehend Latin as Latin and in the Latin order. However,

I believe that I understand as well as anyone does the difficulties to be overcome in carrying out such a program.⁵ And I cling to the hope that in the not too distant future we shall develop teaching materials and teaching techniques which will make that goal attainable for an increasingly large proportion of our students. Meantime, I am willing to settle for something less than perfection, provided I am convinced that my students are being led toward the desired goal and not away from it. That is why I insist on this point of word order.

As we all know, speakers and writers of a highly inflected language like Latin can and do allow themselves very great freedom in the arrangement of words. This was true of Old English. For example, the direct object could equally well precede or follow its verb. Even as late as the eleventh century, it preceded more often than it followed, but before 1500, with the loss of case endings, this earlier pattern began to disappear, and the position following the verb became the normal position.⁶ In modern English, in which less than twenty per cent of the running words show inflection, we depend very largely upon word order for our 'grammar'. 'Man bites dog' is news in English, but *Hominem mordet canis* is not, and never was, news in Latin. 'Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you,'⁷ owes its intelligibility largely to the presence of its inflected pronouns.

The life history of this sentence is worth recalling in connection with the present discussion. Tyndale's version, printed in 1525, reads: 'Whom ye then ignorantly worship, Hym shewe I vnto you.' Note that the word order in the Tyndale version is almost identical with that of the Latin Vulgate from which it was taken: *Quod ergo ignorantes colitis, hoc ego annuncio vobis*. The Vulgate, in turn, is a word-for-word rendering of the Greek: $\delta\ \omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\ \alpha\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon,\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$. The English-speaking world, it seems, had to wait until the present century for the sort of version of this sentence which we sometimes call 'a good idiomatic translation.' Here is Moffatt's version of 1913: 'Well, I proclaim to you what you worship in your ignorance.' I am happy to find that the latest pub-

lished translation, *The Revised Standard Version of the New Testament* (1946), preserves, with only one slight change, the Greek (and Latin) word order, thus: 'What therefore you worship as unknown, this I proclaim to you.'

I can stand a little high literary style in my Bible. Also, I can stand a little Latin style in my classroom. I much prefer, for example, 'Arms and the man I sing' to any such prose, subject-first translation as 'I am telling you about the warlike deeds of the man.' And even if I did not actually prefer this high literary style (which is often attained simply by following the Latin word order), I should, for pedagogical reasons, encourage my students to adhere to the Latin order as closely as possible whenever they find it necessary to resort to 'reading' Latin as English. That is to say, I should encourage my students to practice word-for-word transverbalization (with certain well-defined exceptions) as the method next to the best of getting the meaning of a given Latin sentence directly from the Latin. And I should encourage the practice of this transverbalization method because I believe it is the most effective way of helping a student who has developed the bad habit of saying English when he sees Latin, to gain an appreciation of the aid to comprehension which the following of the Latin word order can give him. And I am convinced that no student for whom Latin word order has not become a sort of second nature can ever hope to become anything but a decoder of Latin or can ever hope to become an efficient reader or translator of Latin, to say nothing of ever gaining any genuine appreciation of the fine rhetorical and metrical values of Latin literature.

Let me now indicate, in detail, the procedure which I am here advocating, and which I have long found useful for my students and for myself in an attack upon a Latin sentence.

Step 1. Read the sentence slowly and quantitatively in Latin (aloud if circumstances permit) trying consciously and conscientiously to comprehend the meaning directly, i.e., without the transposition of the Latin words and without the intervention of any English words.

Step 2. If Step 1 has failed to bring compre-

hension, read the sentence again in Latin, trying to relate the words to each other through a conscious recognition of all inflectional forms and keeping in mind such facts as that an accusative substantive, used without a preposition, has a three-to-one chance of being a direct object and that a direct object is more likely to precede than to follow its verb.⁸

Step 3. If Step 2 has failed to bring comprehension, transverbalize or metaphrase those parts of the sentence not yet comprehended.⁹

Step 4. If Step 3 has failed to bring comprehension, transpose into normal English order those parts of the sentence not yet comprehended, and then transverbalize or metaphrase.¹⁰

Perhaps I can best show what I mean by such classroom jargon as 'transverbalize', 'metaphrase', 'subtending arrow-headed line', if I apply them to some typical Latin passages. Let's take Hale's specimen sentence from *Catiline* III. Let us suppose that the student has failed to comprehend that sentence from 'reading it straight through once in Latin', as Hale thought he could. The student will proceed to take Step 2, i.e., he will read the sentence through a second time for word relationships and will apply, with a pencil or his imagination, the graphic devices shown in the following lines:

Rem publicam, Quirites, vitamque ominum
 ←
 vestrum, bona, fortunas, conjuges, liberos—
 que vestros atque hoc domicilium clarissimi
 ←
 imperi, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque
 →
urbem, hodierno die, deorum immortalium
summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis,
 periculis meis, (e flamma atque ferro ac
 paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis
 conservatam ac restitutam) vos videtis.¹¹

I submit that any reasonably good student, after a little experience with this technique, would stand a very good chance of being able to comprehend this entire Latin sentence without re-

sorting to transverbalization or metaphrase. In passing, let me say that I realize fully that *rem*, *vitam*, etc. can be taken as direct objects of *videtis*, as I have taken them, or as accusative subjects of an *esse* to be understood with *ereptam*, *conservatam*, and *restitutam*.¹² Also I realize that, if the three participles are to be taken as parts of a dependent participial phrase, as I have taken them, the participial phrase could as well begin with *hodierno* as with *e flamma*.

But let's get back to our student. Suppose that, after taking Step 2, he still does not feel sure that he has fully comprehended the sentence. He now takes Step 3. If we assume, as I think we safely can assume, that the student habitually treats *res publica* as a sort of compound word, something like English 'common-wealth', and that he has long since learned how to handle the enclitic *-que*, he will certainly be able to sweep cleanly straight through the whole sentence, transverbalizing word by word, except for the following concessions, each of which would have to be frequently granted in the transverbalization of any Classical Latin author: (1) *clarissimi imperi* (an adjective + noun phrase to be metaphrased as a unit into 'of a most noble realm'); (2) *hodierno die* (another adjective + noun phrase to be metaphrased as a unit into 'on this-day's day'); (3) *deorum immortalium* (a gentive noun + adjective phrase, which must be transferred as a unit to a position after the word *amore*, on which the student has already discovered it depends); (4) *summo . . . amore* (an adjective + noun phrase similar to those found in 2 and 3 above but presenting an additional problem, namely the separation of the adjective from its noun, a problem which only a very timid soul would hesitate to solve by using the metaphrase 'by the great toward-you love'). This neat little verbal package is of a type which the Romans liked very much. Compare with it Caesar's: *magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia* (*B.G.* 1.18), which even a novice at transverbalizing could easily handle as: '(a man) with great among-the-people-on-account-of-his-liberality influence.' One of my students suggested a clever name for this sort of verbal complex. He called it a 'book-end arrangement.' Another student

brought in an excellent parallel in English, namely, the reply of a little girl to a question as to whether the cat which she was holding in her lap was hers. 'No,' she said, 'this is the people-who-lived-in-our-house-before-we-moved-into-it's cat.'

Let us take from Cicero another example in which the adjective is still more widely separated from its noun: '*Magna* dis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, gratia' (*In Cat.* 3.5). A novice at the game of transverbalizing might be tempted to give up the struggle when he encountered a sentence of fourteen words with an attributive adjective at one end and its noun at the other. Not so with your experienced player. He has already, in Step 1, spotted that lurking subject *gratia* and, in Step 2, he has drawn at least an imaginary connecting line from *magna* to *gratia*. Also, your experienced player knows that there is a special ground rule which is applicable in a situation like this. Accordingly, he lifts the *magna* out of the rough, so to speak, and drops it right in front of *gratia* when he gets there, having transverbalized all the intervening words in their Latin order. Of course, a really well-trained student would probably not have to go beyond Step 2 in comprehending this particular sentence. This type of 'book-end arrangement' is very common in prose and in poetry. Other examples are:

Praeclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam (*In Cat.* 1.9)

... *Tyrias* olim quae verteret arces (*Aen.* 1.20)

In the second of the examples just given, the transverbalizer has to invoke a second special rule and transpose the connective *quae* to the first place in its clause so as to conform to almost universal English word order. In Latin a dependent clause can have its connective anywhere from the first of the clause to a position just before the verb, as in the clause:

imperium Oceano famam qui terminet astris. (*Aen.* 1.287)

The next two examples illustrate the separation of the noun from its attributive adjective, and, the noun must therefore, be carried over to its

adjective: ... *pedes vestis defluxit ad imos* (*Aen.* 1.404); *miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam* (*Aen.* 1.191). The following examples illustrate a very common arrangement in Latin poetry, the separated adjective being placed at one end of the metrical unit and the noun at the other:

omnis ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos exigat (*Aen.* 1.74-5)

Speluncam Dido dux et Trojanus eandem deveniunt (*Aen.* 4.165-6)

Another pattern sometimes used by Latin poets places the separated adjective and noun at the beginning or the end of two successive lines, e.g.,

Hanc pro Palladio moniti pro numine laeso effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret. (*Aen.* 2.183-4)

... et omnem

miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam (*Aen.* 1.190-1)

The prize exhibit in this class of vertical arrangement is Horace's:

nunc et latentis proditor intimo

gratus puellae risus ab angelo (*Carm.* 1.9.21-2),

in which the three adjectives in the first line occupy the same metrical position as do their respective nouns in the next line. The ancient Romans who heard Horace read these lines must have had very keen ears, indeed, to have been able to catch and utilize the inflection-shown agreements in those three pairs of separated words. My own students, being blessed with somewhat less acuity, gladly welcome the 'hearing aid' which arrowheaded connecting lines afford.

The ablative absolute phrase in the sentence: *Et jussa facit, ponuntque ferocia Poeni/corda volente deo* (*Aen.* 1.302-3) illustrates another situation which requires transposition in the metaphor. 'God willing' is accepted English usage, but 'willing god' fails to convey in English the meaning of the Latin phrase. On the other hand, a dependent participial phrase, such as: *e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam*, in Hale's example, is usually more intelligible in transverbalized form when the participle is placed at the beginning of its phrase.

Another example of the dependent participial phrase is: *aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae* (*Aen.* 1.492), which also illustrates a fairly common arrangement, namely, the interlocking of a pair of separated adjectives and nouns. The *mammae* in this same example brings up the question of how best to transverbalize the so-called dative with a compound verb. My solution is to use the stock preposition 'for' and to bring out the specific relation conveyed by the Latin prefix by using a semantically equivalent English prefix in the transverbalization; thus: 'underbinding a golden girdle for her exposed breast.' Vergil's: *amissos longo socios sermone requirunt* (*Aen.* 1.217), is another good example of interlocked pairs of adjectives and their nouns. In this particular line the poet must have adopted the interlocked order for other than metrical reasons. The line would scan equally well if it were written: *amissos socios longo sermone requirunt*. However, it is not the purpose of this paper to enter into a discussion of why Vergil, or any other writer of Classical Latin, arranged his words as he did. Of one thing we may be sure: Vergil and the others wrote as they did because they wanted to, and could. The reader's job now, as it has been for these two thousand years, is to understand and to appreciate what they wrote—just as they wrote it.

NOTES

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the Classical Association of New England at St. George's School, Middletown, Rhode Island, March 29, 30, 1946.

² W. G. Hale, *The Art of Reading Latin*. Mentzer, Burke and Company, 1887.

³ *Rem publicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona, fortunas, conjuges, liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperi, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die, deorum immortalium summo ergo vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculis meis, e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis.*

⁴ F. C. Grise, *Content and Method in High School Latin from the Viewpoint of Pupils and Teachers*, pp. 39-44.

⁵ See my 'Reading of Latin as Latin: Some Difficulties and Some Devices.' C J 26.127-40.

⁶ C. C. Fries, *American English Grammar*, p. 252.

⁷ Acts 11.23 (King James' Version, 1611).

⁸ In taking Step 2, the student will find it very helpful to use some such graphic devices as those recommended in

The Classical Outlook for November, 1943, pp. 13-4. Especially helpful are: (1) underscoring each direct object, and (2) drawing a subtending, arrowhead line to connect an attributive adjective with its noun if these words are separated.

⁹ In transverbalizing a substantive in the genitive, dative, or ablative (without a preposition), the student should limit himself to the stock prepositions: 'of' for a genitive; 'to' or 'for' for a dative, and 'with', 'by', 'in', 'on', or 'from' for an ablative.

¹⁰ Step 4 should become less and less necessary as the student gains skill and confidence in Steps 1, 2, and 3.

¹¹ In addition to the two graphic devices mentioned in note 8, the following devices are used in this passage: (1) an arrowhead placed over a genitive substantive and pointed toward the word on which the genitive depends, (2) a small circle under an ablative substantive used without a preposition, (3) broken parentheses to enclose a dependent participial phrase, (4) a wavy line placed under a dative substantive, and (5) a caret insertion of a word logically needed to complete the sense.

¹² I checked nine school editions of Cicero on this point. Three of them took *rem* as direct object, three took it as subject of an infinitive, and three were non-committal.

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ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

Prepared under the supervision of Professor Charles T. Murphy of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

LINGUISTICS. GRAMMAR. METRICS.

ERNOUT, A. *Aventum*. Form appearing in Vatican Latin Glossary 2748, translated 'avel', confirms the form *aventia* cited only by Nonius Marcellus p. 119.29, under *habentia*, an instance of a derivation from the present participle *avens*, comparable to *fluentum* from *fluens*. RPh 15 (1941) 18 (Taylor)

ERNOUT, A. *Les Noms en -āgō, -īgō, -ūgō du Latin*. Detailed analysis of whole group of these nouns in light of question of origin of suffix, whether from a single root or several diverse ones; unity of origin considered established, clear correspondence with types in -ax, -ix, -ux, and relation to type in -ēdō noted. RPh 15 (1941) 81-111 (Taylor)

FONTENROSE, JOSEPH. *The Meaning and Use of Sed Enim*. The author has studied the use of the phrase *sed enim* in writers from Plautus to Augustine. He discovers that *enim* has its usual causal or explanatory force in this phrase. The *enim* is explanatory, and its clause explains the thought that lies ahead. In most cases there is no ellipsis. In at least ninety-nine per cent of all cases both *nam* and *enim* have the same range as the English 'for'.

TAPA 75 (1944) 168-95

(Bourne)

HARLAND, J. PENROSE. *The Date of the Hellenic Alphabet: Literary and Epigraphical Evidence*. From a survey of the literary passages which mention the early use of writing among the Greeks, it is argued that the alphabet was introduced as early as the first half of the eighth century, if not before. Although no extant inscription in Greek letters can be dated before this time, the unofficial and uneducated air of some of these writings (e.g., vituperative graffiti, popular abecedaria, etc.) leads to the supposition that the official use of writing among educated classes must have preceded these documents by nearly a century. Dating the introduction of the alphabet by the method of collation (i.e., a comparison of the earliest Hellenic letter forms with those of Phoenician inscriptions) is severely criticized. The final conclusion is that the Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean area began to adopt the Phoenician letters as early as 900 B.C.

North Carolina Studies in Philology

(C. T. M.)

42 (1945) 413-26

LEJUNE, MICHEL. *Remarques sur l'Analogie en Matière d'Accentuation Grecque*. Distinction between

'direct' (nom., acc.) and 'oblique' (gen., dat.) cases one of pre-Greek origin, strongly felt and often maintained by analogy, even in instances where normal laws of accent, notably in contractions, would not retain it. Ancient view of nom. sing. of noun, and nom. sing. m. of adjectives as basic form of word, a kind of 'zero' case, from which other cases were deviations; evidence against this, as in ἡδίων, where neut. sing. preserves original accent; influence of nom. very great, but not necessarily primary. Explanation of certain verbal accents found in evidence for earlier form; Attic irregularities analyzed: evidence of doublets for some in -ος, where accent of surviving form is due to analogy of original -ος form.

RPh 18 (1944) 57-68

(Taylor)

LEJUNE, MICHEL. *Sens et Emploi des Démonstratifs ὄν, ὄνι, ὄνν*. Arcadian ὄνι and ὄνν equivalent, in contrast to ὄδε; distinction in emphasis similar to that between Attic οὗτος and ὄδε; οὗτος only found in areas where ὄνι and ὄνν unknown; Thessalian evidence more meager, but ὄνε corresponds to Arcadian ὄνι, ὄνν, again in opposition to ὄδε; οὗτος unknown. Cypriot characterized by single demonstrative for all purposes.

RPh 17 (1943) 120-30

(Taylor)

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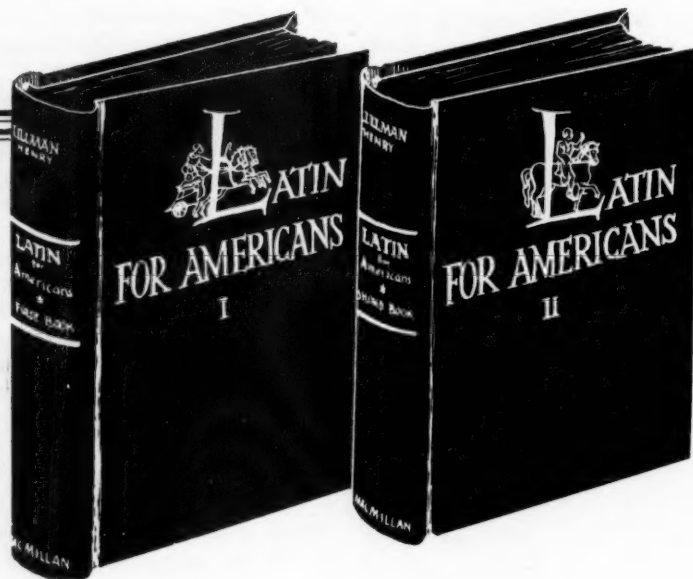
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